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METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH OF THE CONFLATION IN THE EPISTLE TO GALATIANS

The article is devoted to the study of theological methodology of the phenomenon of conflation in the text of the Epistle to Galatians. The issue of conflation was earnestly introduced into the field of New Testament textual criticism by Westcott and Hort in the late nineteenth century. Conflation is always the longest variant that is tertiary in origin and consists of the primary (authentic reading) and secondary (secondary variant) *simplicia*. There is a set of the variants which seem to have appeared on account of such possible reasons as doctrinal alteration or harmonization, or syntactical improvement. In the tentative analysis of the candidates for conflation, the eight longest variant readings from the Epistle to Galatians are examined according to the methodology described in the introductory part of the investigation, so as to find out whether they can be regarded as conflations, diffusions, or variants which emerged by "addition and omission".

Key words: conflation; *simplicium*; *duplum*; diffusion; Epistle to Galatians; theological methodology.

Problem definition. The issue of *conflation* was earnestly introduced into the field of New Testament textual criticism by Westcott and Hort in the late nineteenth century. By using a genealogical approach [Westcott, and Hort, 1988: 39-59], they classified the existing manuscripts into at least four major types of text: (i) Neutral, (ii) Alexandrian, (iii) Western, and (iv) Syrian. Westcott and Hort believed that the Alexandrian text (which rests mainly upon the four uncials \aleph A B C)¹ was superior to the Byzantine text, since by considering the eight examples of *conflation*² in the Syrian text of the Gospels of Mark and Luke,³ they supposed that the Syrian readings (and thus the Syrian text type) were posterior to the Neutral, Alexandrian and Western readings [Westcott, and Hort, 1988: 93-119]. Westcott and Hort's theory exerted influence upon New Testament textual criticism scholarship to such an extent that the Alexandrian text type is widely preferred to the Byzantine (and Western) text type. Just for example, consider what Black says in his introduction to New Testament textual criticism: "Because

of the influence of Westcott and Hort, the Byzantine text is now considered to be the least valuable text type. Its readings are described as smooth and unobjectionable, and difficult readings appear to have been alleviated" [Black, 1994: 33]. Furthermore, the Byzantine text type was not only *not preferred*, but even rejected outright by many text critics on the ground that it has "*conflate*" character.

However, up to the present day no systematic and extensive investigation of the phenomenon of *conflation* has been conducted, so as to either validate or repudiate the theory of Westcott and Hort that *conflation* is a characteristic feature of the Byzantine witnesses. Thus, the purpose of the whole research project "The phenomenon of *conflation* in the textual witnesses of the New Testament" is to systematically study all variant readings that *look like conflation* collected from the critical apparatuses of *Novum Testamentum Graece* (here and after, NA) and *The Greek New Testament* (here and after, UBS). The final results of such research are as of yet unpredictable: they may either verify Westcott and Hort's theory that the Byzantine text type is especially characterized by *conflation*, or it may emerge that *conflation* is equally a characteristic feature of the Alexandrian and Western text types.

The object of our scientific work is paving the methodological way for further research into *conflation* by the tentative search for candidates for *conflation* in the Epistle to Galatians. Thus, the author intends to answer three main questions in the "Conclusion". (i) Are there variant readings which look like *conflation* in the textual witnesses of the Epistle to Galatians? (ii) If in fact there are such variants, did the longest variant readings actually originate as a consequence of *conflation* of two other shorter variants, or can another explanation for their origin be provided? (iii) Finally, if in actual fact after an analysis of external and internal evidence is performed it turns out that a phenomenon such as *conflation* has occurred in some textual witnesses of the Epistle to Galatians, then what kind of witnesses (papyri, uncials, minuscules, lectionaries, versions or early authors) and text types are characterized by *conflation*?

¹ "...it is our belief (1) that readings of \aleph B [of Neutral text type] should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of \aleph B can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from Versions or Fathers" [Westcott, and Hort, 1988: 225].

² "The clearest evidence for tracing the antecedent factors of mixture in texts is afforded by readings which are themselves mixed or, as they are sometimes called, 'conflate', that is, not simple substitutions of the reading of one document for that of another, but combinations of the readings of both documents into a composite whole, sometimes by mere addition with or without a conjunction, sometimes with more or less of fusion. Where we find a variation with three variants, two of them simple alternatives to each other, and the third a combination of the other two, there is usually a strong presumption that the third is the latest and due to mixture, not the third the earliest and the other two due to two independent impulses of simplification" [Westcott, and Hort, 1988: 49].

³ (i) Mark 6:33; (ii) 8:26; (iii) 9:38; (iv) 9:49; (v) Luke 9:10; (vi) 11:54; (vii) 12:18; (viii) 24:53.

Analysis of recent studies and publications. In this research two systems of classification of the witnesses have been used: according to the text types such as the Alexandrian, Western, and Byzantine, and the Alands' categories. Except for the fourth one, for which there were no witnesses found in the critical apparatuses of NA and UBS in support of the variants relating to the candidates for *conflation*. Here are the Alands' definitions of the categories:

Category I: Manuscripts of a very special quality which should always be considered in establishing the original text (e.g., the Alexandrian text belongs here). The papyri and uncials through the third/fourth century also belong here automatically, one may say, because they represent the text of the early period (if they offer no significant evidence they are bracketed).

Category II: Manuscripts of a special quality, but distinguished from manuscripts of category I by the presence of alien influences (particularly of the Byzantine text), and yet of importance for establishing the original text (e.g., the Egyptian text belongs here).

Category III: Manuscripts of a distinctive character with an independent text, usually important for establishing the original text, but particularly important for the history of the text (e.g., f^1 , f^{13}).

Category V: Manuscripts with a purely or predominantly Byzantine text" [Aland and Aland, 1989: 106].

The list of the witnesses by text types is adapted from the following sources (most of the authors belong to the group of *reasoned eclectics*):

Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*

Bauer, W. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*

Black, *New Testament Textual Criticism*

Comfort, Philip W., and Barrett, David P., eds. *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Greek Manuscripts*

Greenlee, *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*

Metzger, B. *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*

Metzger, B. *The Text of the New Testament*

Waltz, *Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism*

Purpose of the Research. In order to give the answers to these three questions, six main steps will be undertaken, which are further explained in the article "Methodology of the research" below: (i) an identification of the longest variant reading which looks like *conflation* and the shorter variants which *prima facie* provide the parts for the longest variant reading; (ii) a compilation of the critical apparatus from the critical apparatuses of NA and UBS; (iii) an analysis of external evidence; (iv) a reconstruction of an *approximate* chronological sequence of the variants' emergence; (v) the analysis of internal evidence; (vi) a tentative conclusion with regard to the longest variant reading which looks like *conflation*.

Research and results. In order to collect the candidates for *conflation* in the Epistle to Galatians, the critical apparatuses of NA and UBS have been studied, from which the variant readings consisting of at least three components were gathered: the longest variant (*duplum* or *multiplum*) plus two or more shorter variants (*simples*), which presumably construct the longest variant. Therefore, after such a tentative search, the following candidates for *conflation* in the Epistle to Galatians have been collected:

(i) «οὐκ εἶδον» + «εἶδον οὐδενα» = «οὐκ εἶδον οὐδενα» (1:19);

(ii) «οἷς» + «οὐδε» = «οἷς οὐδε» (2:5);

(iii) «θεου» + «δια Χριστου» = «θεου δια Χριστου» (4:7);

(iv) «θεου» + «δια Ιησου Χριστου» = «θεου δια Ιησου Χριστου» (4:7);

(v) «μου» + «τον» = «μου τον» (4:14);

(vi) «υμων» + «τον» = «υμων τον» (4:14);

(vii) «γαρ Αγαρ» + «γαρ Σινα» = «γαρ Αγαρ Σινα» (4:25);

(viii) «κυριου Ιησου» + «Χριστου» = «κυριου Ιησου Χριστου» (6:17).

Thus, in order to determine what these variant readings are in the textual witnesses of the Epistle to Galatians, the following steps are taken.

The four most crucial terms used in this research:

Simplum (pl. *simples*) is one of the two (or more) shortest variant readings which constitute a single element of the longest reading (*duplum*); for instance, two *simples* would be "Ιησους" and "Χριστος".

Duplum (pl. *duples*) is the longest variant which contains two *simples*; if the longest variant contains three or more *simples*, then it is called *triplum* or *multiplum* respectively; for example, "Ιησους Χριστος" would be *duplum*, containing the two *simples* "Ιησους" and "Χριστος".

Conflation is always the longest variant that is tertiary in origin and consists of the primary (authentic reading) and secondary (secondary variant) *simpla*; that is, "Ιησους" + "Χριστος" (the two *simples*) = "Ιησους Χριστος" (tertiary *duplum*, that is *conflation*).

Diffflation (a direct opposite to *conflation*) is a posterior division of the longest reading (*duplum*, or *triplum*, or *multiplum*) into two (or more) shortest readings (*simples*); for example, the *duplum* "Ιησους Χριστος" has been divided into two *simples* "Ιησους" and "Χριστος".

Identification of the duplex reading

In the paragraph of the section "Variant readings and witnesses" for each candidate for *conflation* that is discussed, a list of the variant readings is provided, organized from the shortest to the longest and marked with r plus a letter in alphabetical order (that is, rA, rB, rC, etc.). Then, in the section "Identification of the duplex reading for further analysis" each longest variant reading is identified with a formula $rA + rB = rC$ (the letters may change according to the order of the variants in the list), where rA and rB are the *simples* which *prima facie* constitute the *duplum* rC (or *triplum*, or *multiplum*). In the tentative conclusion each *simplum* is marked with *si* (plus an ordinal number) and each *duplum* with *du* (if there are any *triplum* or *multiplum*, then with *tri* and *mu* respectively). Thus, the formula may look as follows (see also 1.3 above):

$rA + rB = rC$

rA = *simplum* "Ιησους"

rB = *simplum* "Χριστος"

rC = *duplum* "Ιησους Χριστος"

Compiled Critical Apparatus

After identifying the *duplex* reading for further analysis, the critical apparatus for this research is compiled from the critical apparatuses of NA and UBS. Sometimes the critical apparatuses of the Greek New Testaments by Tischendorf [Tischendorf, 1872] and Farstad and Hodges [Aland, Aland, Karavidopoulos, Martini and Metzger, 1994] are consulted as needed. For the sake of consistency and convenience, the *sigla* of NA have been converted to the *sigla* of the UBS style. The variant readings in the sections "Compiled Critical Apparatus" in the second chapter are

arranged in order from the shortest to the longest. Thus, all the witnesses have been organized into the three tables as follows below.

The candidates for *conflation* will be analyzed with respect to both of these classification systems. Since the text type of many manuscripts and witnesses is not really established yet, in the table below, only those principal witnesses whose type of text is fairly certain are listed. The witnesses in the table whose text type is still hypothetical (for instance, the uncials P and Ψ) are marked with the superscript question mark.

Into this section in the "Introduction" are also included the lists of *consistently cited witnesses* of the *first* and the *second order* along with *frequently cited witnesses* provided by the Alands. For the sake of better visual perception, the dot • is inserted between the groups (papyri, uncials, etc.) of the witnesses:

Cited by NA witnesses [Aland, Aland, Karavidopoulos, Martini and Metzger, 1999: 17*-18*] for the variant readings relating to the candidates for *conflation* in the Epistle to Galatians are as follows.

(i) *Consistently cited witnesses of the first order:*

1⁴⁶ 1⁵¹ • a A B C D F G Ψ 062 0278 • 33 1739 1881

Compared to the constant witnesses listed by the Alands in *The Text of the New Testament*, NA adds the uncial 0278, while the minuscules 33 1739 1881 were moved from the second class of *constant witnesses* to the *first order* group of the witnesses [Aland and Aland, 1989: 245].

(ii) *Consistently cited witnesses of the second order:*

K L P • 81 104 365 1175 1241 1505 2464

(iii) *Frequently cited witnesses:*

6 323 326 424 629

In the *third table*, manuscripts, versions, and early authors are organized in chronological sequence. The dates of the witnesses have been taken mainly from the Alands' *The Text of the New Testament* and Metzger's *The Text of the New Testament*,⁴ if not found there, then from the Greek New Testaments NA or UBS.

A date followed by slash, for example II/, denotes in this thesis also the interval between ca. 150 and ca. 250, or in other words, the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century. Those witnesses whose date is hypothetical are marked with the subscript question mark.

Analysis of External Evidence

The next step (after identifying the *duplex* reading for further study, and compiling the critical apparatus) is an analysis of external evidence in order to distinguish the primary reading from other variants.

The following classical principles of external evidence have *conjointly* been used for establishing the primary reading: (i) the reading that is attested by the earliest manuscripts is preferred; (ii) the reading that is supported in different geographical areas is preferred; (iii) the reading that is witnessed to by the greatest number of text types is preferred.

Analysis of Internal Evidence

Analysis of internal evidence is performed so as to find out whether the primary reading proposed by external evidence is in fact authentic, taking into consideration transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities. The second reason for such an analysis is to recognize probable causes of the variants' emergence. Therefore, the follo-

⁴ It should be noted that the dates of a number of the witnesses are still *open to question* and, therefore, are to be used cautiously.

wing principles of internal evidence have *conjointly* been used: (i) the reading that is shorter is preferred, if it is remembered that scribes were inclined to add words rather than to omit them; (ii) the reading that is more difficult is preferred, taking into account that scribes had tendencies to alter the difficult reading so as to make it easier to comprehend; (iii) the reading that accords best with the author's style and the immediate context is preferred; (iv) the reading that is less harmonious with parallel passages is preferred.⁵

After the analysis of external and internal evidence is performed, the tentative conclusion for each longest variant reading is formulated in brief, without going into much detail since the tentative conclusions will further be discussed in the third chapter "Tentative evaluation of the candidates for *conflation*" below.

Therefore, if the longest variant (the candidate for *conflation*) is recognized as a *conflation*, it is presented with a formula "*rA + rB > rC*" (the letters might be different due to the order of the variants in the compiled critical apparatus), where *rA* is a primary and *rB* is a secondary *simplum* (marked with *si* plus the ordinal number of the variants), and *rC* is *conflated* reading, that is a tertiary *duplum* (marked with *du* plus the ordinal number of the variant). For instance:

rA + rB > rC

rA = primary *simplum* (si-1)

rB = secondary *simplum* (si-2)

rC = conflated reading: tertiary *duplum* (du-3)

However, if the longest variant (the candidate for *conflation*) is recognized as *diffflation*, it is presented with the formula "*rC > rA + rB*". For example:

rC > rA + rB

rC = primary *duplum* (du-1)

rA = *difflate* reading: secondary *simplum* (si-2)

rB = *difflate* reading: tertiary *simplum* (si-3)

In **conclusion**, the author of the article asks the reader not to make any final critical judgments with regard to the tentative conclusions *before* the tentative evaluation of the candidates for *conflation* has been read, where more reasons are given and more difficulties regarding the formulation of the tentative conclusions are described. Thus, in the tentative analysis of the candidates for *conflation*, the eight *longest* variant readings from the Epistle to Galatians are examined according to the methodology described in the introductory part of the investigation, so as to find out whether they can be regarded as *conflations*, *diffflations*, or variants which emerged by "*addition and omission*". These eight variants are "οὐκ εἶδον οὐδέν" in 1:19, "οὐκ οὐδε" in 2:5, "θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ" and "θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" in 4:7, "μου τὸν" and "ὑμῶν τὸν" in 4:14, "γὰρ Ἀγαπᾷ Σίνα" in 4:25, and "κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ" in 6:17.

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⁵ It should be noted that such an analysis of external and internal evidence is "a child" of Westcott and Hort as well, described in their *Introduction*. Therefore, in this research the methodology developed in general by Westcott and Hort is applied so as to check the accuracy of their theory about the *conflate* character of the Byzantine text type.

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МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ КОНФЛЯЦІЇ У ПОСЛАННІ ДО ГАЛАТІВ

Стаття присвячена дослідженню богословської методології явища конфляції у тексті Послання до Галатів. Поняття конфляції запровадили у текстологічну критику Нового Завіту Б. Ф. Вексхотт і Ф. Дж. А. Хорт наприкінці XIX століття. Для того, щоб дослідити гіпотетичні варіанти конфляції у в Посланні апостола Павла до Галатів, були використані, зокрема, фундаментальні компендіуми "Novum Testamentum Graece" та "The Greek New Testament", де зібрані текстові приклади, котрі у нашій роботі можна поділити на три види: найдовший варіант (*diplum* або *multiplum*) плюс два або більш короткі варіанти (*simpla*), які переважно конституюють найдовший варіант. Внаслідок текстового аналізу та на основі обраної методології Б. Ф. Вексхотта і Ф. Дж. А. Хорта зібрані наступні фрагменти на статус конфляції у Посланні до Галатів: (i) «οὐκ εἶδον» + «εἶδον οὐδενά» = «οὐκ εἶδον οὐδενά» (1:19); (ii) «οἰς» + «οὐδε» = «οἰς οὐδε» (2:5); (iii) «θεου» + «δια Χριστου» = «θεου δια Χριστου» (4:7); (iv) «θεου» + «δια Ιησου Χριστου» = «θεου δια Ιησου Χριστου» (4:7); (v) «μου» + «τον» = «μου τον» (4:14); (vi) «ουμω» + «τον» = «ουμω τον» (4:14); (vii) «γαρ Αγαρ» + «γαρ Σινα» = «γαρ Αγαρ Σινα» (4:25); (viii) «κυριου Ιησου» + «Χριστου» = «κυριου Ιησου Χριστου» (6:17). Конфляція - це завжди найдовший варіант, що є третім за послідовністю та становить поєднання первинної (автентичне читання) і вторинної (пізніший варіант) симпли (*simplum*). У Посланні до Галатів існує ряд варіантів прочитання, які, можна припустити, з'явилися через такі ймовірні причини, як доктринальна зміна, гармонізація або синтаксичні зміни. У вступному аналізі текстових варіантів щодо статусу конфляції розглядаються всім найбільш довгих фрагментів із Послання до Галатів відповідно до окресленої методології, описаної у цій статті, з метою з'ясування, чи можна розглядати їх як конфляції, дефляції або ж варіанти, які виникли за допомогою "додавання і пропуску". Кожен із представлених текстових фрагментів потребує окремого текстологічного й герменевтичного дослідження щодо визначення статусу конфляції.

Ключові слова: конфляція; *simplum*; *diplum*; дефляція; Послання до Галатів; богословська методологія.

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